

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3674

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4409

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: FURTHER PROGRESS ON PRINCIPLES DECLARATION

REF: A. GENEVA 4359

B. GENEVA 4373

1. SUMMARY: SUBCOMMITTEE INSCRIBED FINAL CLAUSES FOR PRINCIPLES DECLARATION IN JOURNAL JUNE 11 WITH NOTATION THAT THEY NOW READY FOR PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION, AND AGREED TO BEGIN DRAFTING OF PREAMBLE JUNE 12. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF FINAL CLAUSE PARAGRAPHS AS WRITTEN INTO JOURNAL JUNE 11 IN ORDER PROVISIONALLY AGREED UPON BY SUB-COMMITTEE FOR USE IN PRINCIPLES DECLARATION:

BEGIN TEXT:

--ALL THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH ABOVE ARE OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE AND, ACCORDINGLY, THEY WILL BE EQUALLY AND UNRESERVEDLY APPLIED, EACH OF THEM BEING INTERPRETED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE OTHERS.

--THE PARTICIPATING STATES EXPRESS THEIR DETERMINATION

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FULLY TO RESPECT AND APPLY THESE PRINCIPLES, AS SET

FORTH IN THE PRESENT (TITLE OF DOCUMENT), IN ALL ASPECTS TO THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION IN ORDER TO ENSURE TO EACH PARTICIPATING STATE THE BENEFITS RESULTING FROM THE RESPECT AND APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES BY ALL.

--THE PARTICIPATING STATES EXPRESS THE CONVICTION THAT RESPECT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES WILL ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND THE PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION AMONG THEM IN ALL SPHERES. THEY ALSO EXPRESS THE CONVICTION THAT RESPECT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES WILL ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL CONTACTS AMONG THEM WHICH IN TURN WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO BETTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR POSITIONS AND VIEWS.

--THE PARTICIPATING STATES DECLARE THEIR DETERMINATION/INTENTION TO CONDUCT THEIR RELATIONS WITH ALL OTHER STATES IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN THIS (TITLE OF DOCUMENT). END TEXT.

3. INSCRIPTION OF FINAL CLAUSES IN JOURNAL WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY ROMANIAN ACCEPTANCE OF MINOR CHANGES IN SECOND PARAGRAPH IN RETURN FOR WHICH THEY WITHDREW PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO KEY FIRST PARAGRAPH ON EQUAL VALUE AND INTERPRETATION OF PRINCIPLES, (REF A). SUBCOMMITTEE NOTED NO FINAL DECISION CAN BE MADE ON ORDERING OF FINAL CLAUSES UNTIL DECISION IS TAKEN ON QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES SAVING CLAUSE, WHICH FRENCH ORIGINALLY PROPOSED GO IN TENTH PRINCIPLE, BUT WHICH SOVIETS PREFER APPEAR IN FINAL CLAUSES.

4. DECISION TO MOVE TO PREAMBLE PROPER JUNE 12 WAS FOOTNOTED BY ROMANIAN INSISTENCE THAT SUBCOMMITTEE IS ONLY DRAFTING "INTRODUCTORY SENTENCES", NOT NECESSARILY PREAMBLE. THIS IS TACTICAL PLOY, HOWEVER, BY WHICH ROMANIANS HOPE TO MAINTAIN LEVERAGE TO ENSURE SATISFACTORY TREATMENT OF THEIR DOCUMENT ON NON-USE OF FORCE IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION (REF B). SOVIET DEL EXPRESSED HOPE THAT SUBCOMMITTEE

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WOULD FIND NEW, SPEEDIER MEANS OF DRAFTING PREAMBLE RATHER THAN ENGAGE IN TIME-CONSUMING COMPARISON OF FOUR DRAFTS NOW ON TABLE (SOVIET, FRENCH, YUGOSLAV, FINNISH). THIS IS TAKEN AS INDICATION THAT SOVIETS FAVOR USE OF INFORMAL MEETINGS TO EXPEDITE DRAFTING AND THAT, IN PUSH FOR CONCLUSION OF STAGE II, THEY WILL NOT STICK TOO FIRMLY TO MORE CONTENTIOUS PARTS OF THEIR DRAFT. DALE

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